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# MONTHLY REVIEW

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VOLUME 32

## Genocide in El Salvador

11

VICENTE NAVARRO

## Walter Rodney: An Exemplary Life

WILLIAM W. HANSEN

*Keynes as Critic of Capitalism*

PAUL M. SWEEZY

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

We are pleased to announce that the winner of the \$500 prize in the Michael Magdoff Memorial Essay Contest is Bruce Nissen for an essay entitled "U.S. Workers and the U.S. Labor Movement." The jury awarding the prize consisted of Irving Kaplan, Albert Ruben, and Meredith Tax, to whom we are deeply grateful for their conscientious work in reading and evaluating the many entries which were submitted. Bruce Nissen's essay will appear in an early issue of MR, and we are considering for possible publication several other essays which received special commendation by the jury.

We record with sorrow the death at age 84 on March 5 of E. Y. (Yip) Harburg, one of the great lyricists of the musical comedy stage. From the very beginning of MR back in 1949, Yip and his wife Edie have been among MR's closest friends and most loyal supporters. As a memorial and token of our love and appreciation we are reprinting on pp. 44-46 below

(Continued on inside back cover)

## GENOCIDE IN EL SALVADOR

By Vicente Navarro

As explained in the report which follows, Dr. Navarro, Professor of Public Health at The Johns Hopkins University, was a member of the Tribunal on El Salvador which met in Mexico City on February 9-11. The full report of the Tribunal, together with supporting documents and legal argumentation, will be published by the secretariat of the Tribunal, but unfortunately this will take time and money. Meanwhile, the situation in El Salvador both domestically and internationally becomes graver with every day that passes. In these circumstances, and since there was a total blackout in the U.S. media on the work of the Tribunal, and even on its very existence, we are taking the unusual course of publishing this summary report by one of its members on the hearings and findings of the Tribunal. Correspondence concerning the Tribunal and its activities should be addressed to: Permanent Tribunal of the Peoples, Via Dogana Vecchia 5, 00186 Rome, Italy.

Dr. Navarro closes his report with an urgent appeal to readers to make known its contents as widely as possible and to do everything within their power to halt the genocide now taking place in El Salvador. We strongly support this appeal and call attention to the recently formed Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). National headquarters are in Washington (P.O. #12056, Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel.: 1-202-887-5019). The New York Committee is located at 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 1-212-473-4848. At the time of writing in early March over 100 local committees have been formed around the country. For further information contact the Washington office.

—THE EDITORS

From the 9th to the 11th of February, 1981, a jury of the Permanent Tribunal of the Peoples met in Mexico City to consider and give a verdict on the charges brought by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (CDHES) against the current Salvadoran Christian Democratic-Military Junta of being responsible for "a systematic violation of the economic, political,

cultural, and social rights of the people of El Salvador and of their right to self-determination,” and “for . . . a qualitative and quantitative intensification of the violation of those rights, leading to a policy of both massive and selective extermination of the population.”

The Commission argued that “these policies were carried out by an illegitimate government sustained from outside the country, especially by the U.S. government and by military forces, security forces, and paramilitary groups who threaten the fundamental rights to life and physical integrity of the Salvadoran citizens.”

The Human Rights Commission of El Salvador is an association of private citizens of El Salvador established in 1978 as a response to the rise in the level of repression by the armed apparatus of the state. They collect detailed and thorough information on violations of human rights in El Salvador, a task that they realize at enormous risk to their lives. Their headquarters in El Salvador have been bombed frequently, and several members of the Commission have been assassinated. They used to publicize the violation of human rights on the Church radio station until it was dynamited by the Salvadoran police. Today, weekly information appears in the Church’s paper *Orientación* and in the *Independiente*, the latter of which was turned into a bulletin after its facilities were destroyed by the junta’s armed forces. The enormously valuable and courageous work of the Commission has attracted international attention, and has gained it nomination for a Nobel Peace Prize.

The Commission works closely with many other Salvadoran groups. A very important one is the office of Legal Aid of the Archdiocese of El Salvador, founded by Archbishop Romero before his assassination. The Archbishop was extremely popular among the poor of El Salvador—the majority of the population—for his unflinching support and defense of their economic, political, and social rights. In his own words: “The Church could not be blind to the reality that while 2 percent of the landowners possess 60 percent of the land . . . 98 percent own 30 percent; that while 8 percent of Salvadorans receive 50 percent of the national income, three million Salvadorans subsist on less than \$10 per month; that only 16 percent of the economically active

are employed throughout the year." One of his last statements was that "the Church has to live side by side with our poor people. I personally will struggle until all our people are free." As part of his commitment to the people, he established the Legal Aid office to support poor people in the defense of their rights. The courage and Christian commitment of Archbishop Romero cost him his life. The judge in charge of the investigation of Archbishop Romero's assassination, Otilio Ramírez Amaya, declared before the Tribunal that the Archbishop was murdered by the security forces with the knowledge of and acceptance by the armed forces and by the junta. Because of his knowledge of these facts, the judge's life was threatened by the security forces; and after an attempt on his life, he had to escape the country. It should be added that until today no one has been detained for the Archbishop's murder.

Unfortunately, the case of Archbishop Romero is not unique. Many religious persons, because of the institutions they represent and because of their support for poor people, have been systematically tortured, harassed, and assassinated. During the period from January 5 to October 10, 1980, twenty-eight members of the Church hierarchy and its lay persons were assassinated (including the Archbishop) and 21 were detained, with 14 bombings, 41 machine-gunnings, 18 attacks, 15 robberies, 33 seizures of churches, religious residences, religious schools, and other religious institutions.

In addition to CDHES and Legal Aid, other groups and associations submitted oral and/or written evidence to the Tribunal, including Amnesty International, the International Association of Democratic Jurists, a Public Health Commission to El Salvador from the United States, the Commission on El Salvador of the Spanish Christian Assembly, the North American Congress for Latin America (NACLA), the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), and others.

Other witnesses before the Tribunal included:

- (1) Representatives of peasant associations, trade unions, religious associations, political groups, professional associations, and academic institutions of El Salvador.

- (2) Representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front

(*Frente Democrático Revolucionario*), the coordinating and leading body of all political forces opposed to the current junta, and a leading representative of the governing Christian Democratic Party, a component of the military junta.

(3) Former members of the junta and former members of the Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Reform.

The U.S. administration, one of the accused parties, did not send any representatives nor any oral or written evidence to the Tribunal, although it had been invited to do so.

The Tribunal also analyzed the juridical reports prepared by its consultants, Dr. Fernando Marino, Professor of International Law of Madrid University, Spain; and Dr. André Jacques, Director of CIMADE, Paris, France.

For three very intense days, peasants, rural and urban workers, priests, Protestant ministers, nuns, teachers, university professors, lawyers, judges, journalists, former junta ministers, former government officials, and many others testified on the situation in El Salvador before the Tribunal and the international press and media which had arrived from all over the world to cover the event. The U.S. media were conspicuously absent. In the audience, in addition to the general public that crowded the auditorium, there were also political leaders from Latin American progressive and democratic forces, leaders of European unions, members of European parliaments, religious figures from several countries, representatives of the World Council of Churches and of many other concerned groups.

### **The Permanent Tribunal of the Peoples**

On the fourth day, the judges met in closed session to discuss the evidence submitted to the Tribunal. Since this Tribunal is not well known in the United States, it should be explained that the Tribunal for the Liberation of Peoples was founded in 1979 in Bologna, Italy, "to examine the serious and systematic violations of rights of people whether committed by states, by authorities other than states, or by private groups or organizations; also, if required, to examine the responsibility of their authors according to the Nuremberg principles" and "to promote universal and effective respect for the fundamental rights of people by determining whether these rights have been vio-

lated, by examining the causes of such infringements, and by pointing out to world public opinion the authors of those violations."

The Tribunal has no power to impose sanctions. As Jean-Paul Sartre once said, "The power of the Tribunal is that it has no other power than the power of its moral authority." A successor to the Bertrand Russell Tribunal, this Tribunal is committed to the defense of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples as stated by the Declaration of Algiers of July 4, 1976. Citizens of the United States should know that this Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples is inspired by many documents, including the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, signed on July 4, 1776. The Tribunal acts on cases brought to it by victimized parties. It delivers its verdict after it has considered evidence submitted by the accusers, the accused, and other concerned parties. In the case of El Salvador, responsibility was delegated to 11 members of the Tribunal, who became the judges for this case. The members of the jury were: *George Wald*, Nobel Prize winner, Professor of Biology, Harvard University; *Harvey Cox*, U.S. Protestant theologian and writer; *James Petras*, Professor of Sociology, State University of New York at Binghamton; *Vicente Navarro*, Professor of Public Health, The Johns Hopkins University; *Amar Bentoumi*, Former Minister of Justice, Algeria; *Sergio Mendes Arceo*, Catholic Bishop, Cuernavaca, Mexico; *Armando Uribe*, lawyer and former Ambassador of Chile to the People's Republic of China; *Edmond Jouve*, lawyer and Professor of International Law, the Sorbonne, Paris; *Ernesto Melo Antunes*, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Revolutionary Council, Portugal; *Richard Baumlin*, lawyer and member of Parliament, Switzerland; and *Giulio Girardi*, Catholic philosopher and theologian, Italy.

The Secretariat of the Tribunal, headed by Gianni Tognoni, invited President Ronald Reagan of the United States and President José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador to submit evidence in response to the accusations made by the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador. Neither answered, although Christian Democrats of El Salvador, the party which together with the military forms the Salvadoran junta, as well as representa-

tives of the Christian Democrats of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, supporters of the junta, sent their representatives to testify.

### 1. Findings of the Permanent Tribunal of the Peoples

The junta claims that it is a government committed to structural reforms and opposed by two extremes—the right (linked to the oligarchy) and the left (linked to “international terrorism and communism”). However, according to the evidence submitted to the Tribunal, the junta represents the dominant sectors of the oligarchy, the ultra-right, which, in order to retain power, carry out a brutal system of repression against the majority of the population, including peasants, workers, small businessmen, professionals, and the majority of Christian communities. The evidence presented to the Tribunal reveals that all the power in the Salvadoran state is centralized in the armed forces and other state organs of repression. The civilian Christian Democratic Party has tried to provide the legitimation that the military junta needs, but this effort has failed owing to the lack of a popular base. Most members of the Christian Democratic Party, including many of its founders, have joined the popular forces in opposition to the junta. Most of the civilian members of the two initial juntas have now left and joined the popular forces. And even Colonel Majano, one of the military leaders of the coup of 1978 (the coup that ended the hated tyranny of the previous dictator, General Carlos Humberto Romero, and opened up the possibility for reforms) has left the junta, demonstrating that it now represents exclusively the interests of the oligarchy and of hawkish sectors of the army allied to it.

The junta is opposed by the majority of popular forces coordinated at the political level by the Revolutionary Democratic Front which includes political groups representing all sectors of the Salvadoran population, from social Christians, Christian democrats, liberal democrats, and social democrats, to socialists and communists. The armed struggle is coordinated by the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation—*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional* (FMLN)—which also includes representatives of the major politico-military forces.

The Tribunal was particularly impressed by the active participation of the Christian masses in the popular struggles for liberation, through their own communities or through the various political forces mentioned above. Many religious persons have taken a leading role in popular struggles: for example, the murdered priest, Ernesto Bamera Moto, one of the leaders of the FMLN, and the murdered Apolinaris Serrano, founder and general secretary of the Christian Federation of Salvadoran Peasants and Rural Workers (FECASS).

## II. The Systematic Policy of Terror

In order to stay in power, the junta carries out a brutal and systematic policy of terror against all sectors of the population. The evidence presented to the Tribunal was horrible and overwhelming. As Giulio Girardi, an Italian Catholic theologian and a member of the Tribunal said: "The systematic terror that this Tribunal has witnessed defies all possible imagination. How can human beings—the torturers—be so sadistic and brutal?"

The characteristics of that terror are:

1. *Its extraordinary brutality.* People are detained and systematically tortured. The most frequent types of torture include: (a) Castration, leaving the genitals in the victims' mouths; (b) rape and disfigurement of women's bodies; (c) torture of children and raping of girls, including the cutting out of tongues and gouging out of eyes (deliberately carried out in the presence of parents and relatives); (d) opening up of pregnant women, throwing the fetus to be eaten by dogs; (e) use of chemicals to burn alive the bodies of detained individuals.

The Tribunal heard witnesses describe how children were pinned to the ground over anthills and left to be eaten alive by the ants. Children as young as three months have been tortured.

2. *Its openness and systematic form* as part of a policy of terror. Both torture and assassination are carried out openly, leaving the bodies in public places to intimidate and terrorize the population. The heads of the assassinated are sometimes put on poles for public display.

3. *Its assaults on all sectors of the population.* The following table from the report prepared by the Legal Aid office from the Archdiocese lists the number of people assassinated from

January 1 to December 15, 1980 (excluding people killed in military action and in civilian massacres):

|                        |       |
|------------------------|-------|
| Peasants               | 3,431 |
| Workers                | 422   |
| Students               | 778   |
| Teachers               | 136   |
| Paramedics             | 5     |
| Mayors                 | 2     |
| Professionals          | 45    |
| Slum Dwellers          | 24    |
| Public Employees       | 378   |
| Religious Leaders      | 10    |
| Transportation Workers | 7     |
| Businessmen            | 182   |
| Not Identified         | 2,794 |
|                        | <hr/> |
| TOTAL                  | 8,214 |

In addition to cases of individual torture and assassination, there are cases of collective massacres of civilians, like that in Río Sampul, on May 14 and 15, 1980, when approximately 600 peasants, including children, women, and the elderly, were tortured and killed. The evidence of this massacre was collected for the Tribunal by the Commission on El Salvador of the Spanish Christian Assembly which interviewed surviving victims of the massacre living in refugee camps in Honduras and Costa Rica. The oral testimonies given to the Tribunal by witnesses of the massacre were overwhelming. It is clear that the massacre was carried out by the armed forces of El Salvador in collaboration with the armed forces of Honduras.

Another instance of massacre was the one at Morazán where the armed forces killed 3,000 people by systematic bombing, including the use of napalm.

To date approximately 12,000 people have been assassinated, the majority having been tortured first. To fully comprehend the scope of this problem, one should know that the population of El Salvador is only 4,354,000. In brief, 0.3 percent of the Salvadoran population has been assassinated. The equivalent proportion of the U.S. population would be close to 700,000 people, nearly twice the number of deaths in the U.S. armed forces during the Second World War.

In addition to these horrible massacres, assassinations, and tortures, there are continuous and systematic acts of repression against peasant communities, workers' neighborhoods, unions, church institutions, academic associations, and others. These acts include the bombing and burning of villages, burning of crops, machine-gunning of buildings, and searches and seizures. The unions, incidentally, are militarized and depend not on the Minister of Labor but on the Minister of Defense. According to a union leader who testified, management frequently collaborates with the police and army to repress union activity. Those who do not collaborate "disappear."

A similar repression is directed against cultural institutions. Newspapers, radio stations, libraries, and educational institutions are destroyed; and teachers, students, and journalists have been systematically tortured and assassinated. Hospitals and clinics have been assaulted and bombed, with the army and security forces killing patients, even while they are under treatment.

This repression and persecution have created an enormous dislocation of people, with 75,000 forcibly sent to hamlets or *pueblos estratégicos*, where they are continuously controlled, harassed, and terrorized. The justification for these forced movements of peasant families is that it is necessary to the carrying out of the agrarian reform. Thus in January 1980 the army gave the order to inhabitants of La Laguna and Concasto in the province of Chalatenango to evacuate their homes and to move in with members of ORDEN—a much-hated paramilitary group—in a convent of Las Vueltas. Indiscriminate shooting immediately began in order to kill anyone who had not moved to the convent. In less than three weeks 29 persons in that region were murdered. Confirmed cases of burning and destruction of houses during these military incursions exceeded 532.

Also, because of the repression, 92,500 people have been forced to leave the country, with 40,000 in Honduras, 40,000 in Mexico, 10,000 in Belize, and 2,500 in Costa Rica. Several witnesses as well as the Commission on El Salvador of the Spanish Christian Assembly testified to the harassment and humiliation these refugees suffer at the hands of the authorities of those countries. Especially alarming is the situation of the refugee

camps in Honduras and Costa Rica, where hunger and even starvation are common.

4. Contrary to junta claims that all this violence and terror are carried out by the uncontrollable extremes of the right and left, the evidence presented to the Tribunal clearly indicates that *the overwhelming majority of the violence is perpetrated by repressive forces which are directly and formally dependent on the junta*. According to figures provided to the Tribunal by the Legal Aid office of the Archdiocese, the forces responsible for the 6,598 people assassinated during the period from May to December 1980 were:

|                                |              |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| National Guard                 | 534          |
| National Police                | 169          |
| Treasury Police                | 31           |
| Combined Forces                | 2,930        |
| Army                           | 131          |
| ORDEN                          | 109          |
| Death Squad                    | 752          |
| Civilian Dress                 | 184          |
| Secret Anticommunist Army      | 4            |
| Special Anticommunist Brigades | 2            |
| Not Identified                 | 1,752        |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                   | <b>6,598</b> |

The first five entities are part of the state apparatus, dependent, according to Article 70 of the 1962 Salvadoran Constitution, on the President and Commander-in-Chief of El Salvador. Today, these presidential functions have been assumed by the junta which is thus responsible for the actions of the armed forces.

ORDEN and the Death Squad are referred to by the junta as paramilitary "ultra right" organizations, supposedly outside the control of the state. The evidence presented to the Tribunal shows otherwise. ORDEN was founded by General Medrano when he was head of the National Guard (1962-1970). Although declared illegal in 1979, ORDEN has official support. Its operations are coordinated with the army and the security forces. Guatemala has also supplied arms and has allowed its territory to be used for the training of ORDEN members by Israeli instructors. Meetings of this group take place in police

stations and National Guard posts. Also, several witnesses testified that the Death Squad is staffed primarily by members of the Security Forces. According to their testimony, it is clear that those two paramilitary organizations, as well as the secret and special forces, are indeed dependent on the military.

5. Based on all the evidence provided, the conclusion of the Tribunal was that the terror in El Salvador is part of a *systematic, continuous, and brutal policy of the junta directed against all its opponents, which include the majority of the Salvadoran population*. It is worth stressing that in oral testimony to the Tribunal the representative of the governing Christian Democrats did not condemn the violence carried out by the Armed Forces and Security Forces. He justified the terror as necessary to control the guerrillas who were opposed to what he called the "revolution with liberty" which supposedly was taking place in El Salvador.

6. Last but not least, several Salvadoran lawyers testified that *not one person has been investigated or brought to trial for the tortures and assassinations of these 12,000 citizens, nor for the torture of countless others*.

### III. The Agrarian Reform

Within a context of terror, the agrarian reform is one more mechanism to control and terrorize the peasantry. On this question, the evidence provided by peasants and by a former official of the Institute of Agrarian Reform was very convincing. Designed and directed by U.S. officials who were in charge of similar programs in Vietnam and the Philippines, the aim of the reform was to exterminate the peasants' leadership. The land reform was enacted on March 6, 1980, the day after a state of siege was declared. As a result of this law all free speech, freedom of press, right to public assembly, and the right of habeas corpus were automatically suspended for the entire country. The project of land reform provided the justification for the military occupation of the entire country. As indicated in the report submitted to the Tribunal by the Archdiocese, the agrarian reform "has been an instrument to increase the violence and repression directed at the peasants for the purpose of eliminating their organizations." It is, in the words of Pierre

Schori, Secretary of International Relations of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, "the reformism of death."

#### **IV. The U.S. Government's Involvement in El Salvador**

The junta could not survive without economic and military aid from the United States which is primarily responsible for the continuation of the terrorist regime. There are already reported to be 800 U.S. military and other advisors in El Salvador, the largest contingent that the U.S. government has sent to a Latin American country since the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic. Every day, ten D-103 planes arrive in El Salvador with their deadly cargo. Several individuals testified that it is widely believed among religious communities of El Salvador that the reason for the killing of the four North American nuns by the security forces of El Salvador was that at the time of their violation and assassination, they were carrying evidence of U.S. government involvement in atrocities they had witnessed.

Based on the accumulated evidence, there is no doubt that the U.S. government's assistance is crucial to sustaining the junta responsible for a policy of terror and extermination directed against the majority of the Salvadoran population. Following a visit to the Honduras-El Salvador border with U.S. Congressmen Gerry Studds and Robert Edgar in January 1981, U.S. Congresswoman Barbara A. Mikulski said: "Our weapons are being used to kill people, commit horrendous atrocities, burning crops and creating a very serious food shortage . . . in many ways, *we* are the threat in Central America."

Today—and in spite of the resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly on December 15, 1980, asking all governments of the world not to provide any military assistance to El Salvador (Resolutions Nos. 35/192)—the U.S. government has continued to be the main provider of arms and police equipment to the junta.

#### **V. The Moral and Legal Right to Insurrection**

The population, denied all possibility of participation, governance, and self-determination, has had no recourse except to take up arms and rebel against an oppressive regime. As

Archbishop Romero said: "Christians are not afraid to struggle. They prefer the language of peace. However, when a dictatorship violates the human rights and well-being of the nation, when the situation becomes unbearable and all avenues of dialogue are closed, then the Church has the right, a moral and legal right, to armed insurrection." The Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (March 26, 1967) clearly established the moral right to armed insurrection. The Episcopal Conference of Nicaragua also recognized, on June 2, 1979, the right to insurrection, a right that appears as early as 1776 in the second paragraph of our own U.S. Declaration of Independence.

The Tribunal asked the question: Are the conditions such that the Salvadoran people have been forced to exercise this right in El Salvador? To answer this question, several witnesses testified that for fifty years the Salvadoran people have been denied democratic elections. For all these years, the power in the country has been concentrated in very few families (the oligarchy) and the army. This power bloc has been supported by the United States, which has considered El Salvador a key country within the Central American region. It should be stressed that U.S. interests have been politico/military as well as economic, leading to U.S. support of military regimes in the region. These regimes in turn have imposed their power by most oppressive means and with complete disregard for the economic, political, social, cultural, and religious rights of the population. A quote from one of those dictators in El Salvador, General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, reveals the nature of these rulers:

It is good for children to walk around barefoot. In that way, they can better receive the beneficial emanations of the planet, the vibrations of the earth. Plants and animals do not wear shoes. . . . Biologists have only discovered five senses. But there are really ten: hunger, thirst, procreation, urination, and intestinal movements; these are the senses not included in the biologists' list. . . . It is a greater crime to kill an ant than a man, because when a man dies, he is reincarnated. When an ant dies, it dies for good.

This tyrant, who ruled El Salvador for fourteen years, killed 30,000 peasants in 1932 during a peasant uprising against his rule. As the Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton wrote, "We were

all born half dead in 1932. We survived, but half alive. . . .” Military dictator after military dictator has perpetuated a system of exploitation and oppression in El Salvador defined by the (London) *Economist* (February 2, 1981) as one of the most unjust countries in the world. Richard Arellano, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs of the U.S. State Department, in 1977 Congressional testimony, defined El Salvador as a country where

a very small percentage of the population owned most of the land, with a very small circle of oligarchic families controlling most of the power. The quality of life for large sectors of the population is practically unbearable. . . . This system has been supported by a series of military regimes that support the wealthy elite. It has led many people to believe that there is no possibility for change through the current political system.

The history of El Salvador is a history of heroic struggle by the Salvadoran people against these tyrants. Starting in the early 1970s, an armed struggle of liberation spread to large sectors of the population. Part of the armed forces, concerned about the strength of the revolutionary forces and also alarmed by the success of the Nicaraguan revolution, carried out a coup on October 15, 1979, deposing the last tyrant, General Romero. In alliance with certain civilian political forces, they attempted to initiate a number of basic reforms that would start a process of development and reconstruction. Two months after the coup, however, the political groups that had supported the project began to abandon the new junta after becoming aware that the dominant forces of the army and the oligarchy were not willing to go through with these reforms. For the most part, these defectors joined the armed struggle, the only remaining avenue for bringing about change. It is clear from the testimony provided to the Tribunal that all other possibilities in El Salvador have been exhausted. Moreover, since the U.S. government has provided all types of assistance to the terrorist regime of the junta, it is clear that the popular forces have the moral and legal right to seek and obtain assistance from any source they consider proper. It is worth stressing again that the U.S. government has been the main provider of military and police equipment to the successive military regimes of El Salvador and that the U.S. mili-

tary base in Panama has been the main training center for the Salvadoran military and security forces. The U.S. government does not have the moral or the legal right to justify its intervention in El Salvador by invoking alleged assistance by non-Salvadoran sources to the popular movement. United States assistance to the military terrorist regimes preceded the existence of any armed revolutionary group on Salvadoran soil.

## VI. Verdict of the Tribunal

Based on all the evidence submitted, the Tribunal:

(1) Established that the military junta is culpable of grave, systematic, and repeated violations of human rights, the fundamental rights of the human person;

(2) stressed the particular gravity of those violations aimed at the destruction of groups of persons because of their political opinions or their actual or potential opposition to the junta;

(3) considered that the deliberate and massive character of those acts can be considered a crime of genocide;

(4) observed that the military junta uses torture in a generalized and systematic way and is guilty of cruel, inhuman, and degrading measures against insurgents, political opponents, and all sectors of the population which the junta considers suspect;

(5) judged the Salvadoran state, groups organized by it, and groups in complicity with it as responsible for crimes against humanity;

(6) noted that the above-mentioned organs of the state and groups related to it are guilty of forced disappearance of persons who are arrested or kidnapped;

(7) declared that through these methods the military junta imposes its illegitimate power on the people of El Salvador with the purpose of negating the people's right to sovereignty and their right to political self-determination as recognized by Articles 5 and 7 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, by instruments of international law, and by the Constitution of the Republic of El Salvador proclaimed on January 8, 1962;

(8) stated that as a consequence, the people of El Salvador have a legitimate right of insurrection as stated in (a) Article 7 of the Constitution of El Salvador, (b) Article 28 of the Uni-

versal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, (c) the Declaration of Independence of the United States of July 4, 1776, and (d) the Vatican document *Popularum Progressio* of March 26, 1967;

(9) condemned the junta as responsible for the following crimes against humanity: genocide, practice of torture, disappearance of persons, and violations of the fundamental rights of the people of El Salvador;

(10) consequently reminded all states of the world—in conformity with the Convention of December 9, 1948, on the prevention and repression of the crime of genocide—of their duty to extradite all members of the military junta of El Salvador, as well as their duty to abstain from giving any military or economic support to the junta, which could be used against the people of El Salvador;

(11) denounced the government of the United States for its complicity with the junta of El Salvador in the perpetration of crimes against humanity;

(12) made a call to all states of the world, and in particular to the states neighboring El Salvador, to treat Salvadoran refugees according to the principles of international human rights and, in particular, the Convention of 1951.

*In the name of innumerable victims of the terror now raging in El Salvador, and as a member of the Tribunal which met in Mexico City on February 9-11, 1981, I make an urgent plea to all readers of this report to distribute and make its contents known to as many people as possible. With every day that passes more men, women, and children are being maimed, tortured, and killed. It is our responsibility to do everything we can to stop this genocide and to act immediately.*

## **THE POLITICS OF SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT**

BY JAY R. MANDLE

Since the early 1950s the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean have followed a classic pattern of dependent development. Following the recommendations of the Nobel Prize-winning economist W. Arthur Lewis, they have engaged in a policy of "wooing and fawning upon" foreign capitalists in an attempt to attract investment to the region.<sup>1\*</sup> The effort at industrialization implied in this policy was in fact an advance over the previous British colonial policy which had confined the region to the plantation production of agricultural exports. But by the 1970s it had become clear that as a way of improving the living conditions of the bulk of the population of the region, "industrialization by invitation" was a failure. Everywhere in the West Indies unemployment rates were high and poverty persistent. As Lloyd Best has written, the hopes associated with the Lewis strategy "have been no more than grand illusions."<sup>2</sup>

There has been a clear reaction to the weaknesses of dependent development. In countries such as Guyana, Manley-led Jamaica, and revolutionary Grenada, emphasis has shifted toward efforts to escape dependency and to achieve a more self-reliant path of development, thus placing higher priority than in models of dependent development on meeting domestic

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The author teaches economics at Temple University.

\* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

needs locally and eliminating gross inequalities of income. As Robert Rothstein has written, in this new approach to development "a generation of development theory is being stood on its head here, for the impossibility of self-reliance, the welfare gains from international trade, the need to concentrate on industrialization, and the virtue of inequality have been part of the conventional wisdom for more than 25 years."<sup>3</sup>

The model of autonomous development is obviously attractive. The image which emerges from it is one of a society sharing the costs of the creative effort involved in generating self-development. The imposition of development from abroad, implied by dependency, is absent. So too is the need to acquiesce in the demands of outsiders. With this approach a society's political and economic structure can be what it chooses, undeterred by the need to satisfy, for example, large, wealthy multinational corporations.

It is clear that in the self-reliant model of development, agriculture must play a strategic role. For if external sources of investment are to be minimized, it can only be from the wealth produced in the countryside that new industries can be financed. Similarly if external markets are to be reduced in importance, rural incomes must be increased in order to provide local markets for new products. Furthermore, the country's food-import bill must be minimized so as to reduce dependency on foreign exchange, and this too requires an expansion of agricultural output. In sum, wealth creates wealth: if foreign sources of wealth are to be shut off, it is from the principal domestic source of production, agriculture, that further economic expansion must stem.

Two competing models of how to accomplish these goals have been suggested by West Indian economists. George Beckford has argued for a program which he calls "integral land reform." In this, holdings of 5 to 25 acres will be allocated to the rural peasantry. He argues that, since peasants can be relied upon to be more innovative and to cultivate their land more intensively than large landholders, such a redistribution will result in expanded agricultural output. This is especially likely if, as he advocates, this land redistribution occurs at the same time that reforms are implemented with regard to the exten-

sion of credit, technical assistance, seed and fertilizer availability, and marketing outlets. Such a program, argues Beckford, will contribute to the process by which "improvements in the economic and social welfare of people are consistently achieved over time."<sup>4</sup>

With a similar concern Clive Thomas has called for a program of agricultural collectivization, though carefully noting that this should be carried out only with the willing compliance of the peasants themselves. It is only with large-scale units of production, larger than those associated with a peasantry, argues Thomas, that modern and technologically progressive inputs can be employed in agriculture. Thus it is that Thomas argues that agriculture's contribution to autonomous growth requires a collectivized and cooperative agricultural sector.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, neither Thomas's nor Beckford's approach is problem-free. Thomas, for his part, does not satisfactorily answer the question of what to do if the peasantry resists collectivization, as he concedes it might. He writes, for example, that peasants frequently see the ending of exploitation as occurring "by way of greater security of private tenure and real income, both of which the peasant believes can only follow from an expansion of holding size and from the preservation and extension of unrestricted right to the use and disposal of land." At the same time Thomas resists imposing collectivization on an unwilling peasantry. He notes that the experiences of the Soviet Union "have shown that if democracy is not preserved in the rural areas the peasantry will be driven to retaliation and to the sabotage of the transition efforts."<sup>6</sup> The problem is that Thomas does not reconcile his commitment to democracy and voluntarism with the possibility that the farming community might resist collectivization. He does not indicate how to escape from or at least soften the dilemma which might arise when such an agricultural reorganization is attempted. In particular he does not indicate the relative weights which should be attached to democracy and collectivization respectively or the priority which should be attached to each. As a result of this gap, a policy vacuum appears in his approach at precisely a critical point—what the political leadership should do to attain its goals and what limits it should respect in this pursuit.

Beckford's approach contains a different problem. The political strength of his model is that in it the farmers obtain the land, credit, and technical assistance which they desire. But its weakness stems from the unproved assumption that when "integral land reform" is implemented, technological dynamism will result. The latter is essential if the model of autonomous development is to be successful. But on both empirical and analytical grounds, there is cause for grave concern as to whether a peasant-based agricultural community will be able to produce the kind of agricultural modernization essential for the success of this approach.

The basis for Beckford's belief that a peasantry can carry such a burden are empirical studies which show that yields per acre are higher on small-scale than on large-scale units of production. Statistical analyses by Cline are cited in this regard, as are data which indicate that productivity for all inputs, not just land, are relatively high on peasant farms.<sup>7</sup> The problem is, however, that this is not the kind of evidence which is needed to make the point that a peasantry is competent to produce technological dynamism. For the data reported in these studies are concerned with the intensity of factor use, holding time constant, while the problem of technological dynamism is centered on the introduction of new methods of production and crops with the passage of time. Beckford himself acknowledges that "empirical evidence is weakest in respect of the relationships between technical change and land reform,"<sup>8</sup> a weakness which makes it impossible to refute Thomas's contention that modern agriculture requires units of production "which are larger than is generally available to peasants."<sup>9</sup>

The problem, then, for proponents of self-reliant development is this: while the strengthening of the peasants is obviously attractive to the rural community, it is not clear that such an approach will yield the economic results which autonomous development requires. What this suggests is that a government in power and committed to such a model of development will probably have to engage in an extended period of experimentation before a satisfactory agricultural structure can be achieved. The possibility that there is a conflict between the requirements of growth and rural democracy will put such a government to

a real test. In particular, it will have to cope with the possibility that in order to maintain voluntarism in the countryside by responding to the land-hunger of the farming community a rate of economic expansion slower than the desired one will have to be accepted.

Obviously what is required in the self-reliant approach to development is a close collaborative relationship between the government and the farming community. Only by involving rural workers and farmers in decisions with regard to organizational forms can governments hope to tap and maintain the good will of these groups. The presence of such good will is the necessary condition which has to be fulfilled if a mutually acceptable structure of farming is ultimately to be created. But something more than this is also suggested. The centrality of agriculture to autonomous development means that, if coercion is to be avoided, the desires of farmers and peasants must be respected. Specifically this means that the rural community may exercise veto power over specific policies and approaches to development when those approaches and policies directly affect the organization of agriculture.

It is in this regard, of course, that problems have arisen and can be anticipated in the future. These problems primarily result from the fact that left regimes interested in implementing self-reliant growth tend to be urban both with respect to their constituencies and interests. In some cases the rural/urban difference is compounded by racial or ethnic differences. As a result such leaderships tend to be poorly equipped either to mobilize the rural population or to call upon a fund of good will in the farming community. At the same time they find it difficult to justify concessions to the countryside, especially when such concessions may come at the expense of the interests of the city population. What this means is that such regimes, in implementing self-reliance, are likely to experience opposition to their policies either from their own constituents, eager to speed and secure the advantages of economic advance, or from the rural community intent upon protecting its own interests. Only if the peasantry as well as the urban population is included in the governing regimes is it possible to envision the accommodation of tensions and conflicts arising in this way.

Even then it is likely that the strains which are generated will be substantial.

Thus the issues raised by Thomas and Beckford have an important political dimension. If, as seems likely, the peasants prefer maintaining their hold on the land, but rapid economic development requires some form of centralization or collectivization, it is in the political realm that this conflict will have to be resolved. What will be required is that the representatives of each side of this urban/rural division recognize the good will of the other and the fact that mutual gain can be accomplished only through accommodation. Certainly such reliance on political good-will is not impossible to envision. But what it requires is precisely a commodity which has not been notably present in the region to date: a willingness on the part of those in power to share in power decision-making with potential antagonists.

#### NOTES

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## **WALTER RODNEY: AN EXEMPLARY LIFE**

BY WILLIAM W. HANSEN

This past August an article appeared in the *Boston Globe* regarding a study of the food consumption "habits" of the United States and its two neighbors. The writer commented that the study showed: "Canadians and Americans eat too much. But their southern neighbors eat too little."<sup>\*</sup> Now one can attribute this kind of analysis to naiveté and simple ignorance or to a grotesque cynicism. Although I suspect that the former is true, it doesn't really matter.

The way the article presented the "Mexican dilemma" in this case was as, more or less, a simple matter of choice. Mexicans, in the writer's view, suffered from the ill-effects of their diet simply because of bad eating habits; they don't know any better. By implication the solution to Mexican hunger and diet-related problems is to get our southern neighbors into the habit of eating red meat, fresh fruit, and vegetables every day. Of course, the article went on, not only Mexicans suffer from the problems of bad eating habits. Fat North Americans, victims of their own gluttony, must learn to cut down in the interests of their own health.

This rather simplistic view of hunger and malnutrition in the world is not confined to American journalists. Professor P. T. Bauer, a prominent specialist in development economics at the London School of Economics, argues that hunger in the southern

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The author is a Ph.D. student at Boston University doing work on the Zimbabwean revolution.

\* Notes will be found at the end of the article.

hemisphere is attributable to such things as hot climates and exotic religions which, among other things, lead them to live among an abundance of cows which they obstinately refuse to turn into protein intake.<sup>2</sup>

Others, taking much the same view, albeit with a more palatable phrasing, argue that poverty is simply the result of a "late start" on the road to development. That is, Africa, Asia, and Latin America are currently at a stage of development once occupied by Western Europe and North America, and the solution to overcoming their poverty is education (meaning by this not simply technical learning but the adoption of cultural values characteristic of Western Europe and North America) from which will automatically spring urbanization, industrialization, and plenty.

The natural corollary of this view is an intensification of the present capitalist international division of labor—a modern version of Ricardo's "law of comparative advantage." The Ghanaians are naturally better situated to produce the world's cocoa; the Senegalese, the world's peanuts; the Hondurans, the world's bananas; the Guyanese, the world's sugar, etc.

As time and needs change, the world's production requirements are constantly being re-allocated, but still according to this "immutable" law of comparative advantage. Two centuries ago Nigeria, for example, was assigned the production of labor—slaves for New World plantations; through most of the last century it was palm oil for the consumption of an industrializing Europe; presently it is petroleum products for similar external markets. In the future, if things go according to plan, Nigeria will be assigned the production of certain kinds of manufactured goods—all geared to the consumption requirements of an international system of which they are a part but over which they exercise only a minimal amount of control. Thus we can expect from Nigeria, in the next decade or so, an "economic miracle" along the lines of a Brazil, a South Korea, or a Taiwan, which are now exporting not only electronic gadgetry and other cheap consumer goods but even heavy industrial items such as steel. The Mexican economist, Raúl Fernández, has recently noted that steel production is a nineteenth-century activity in explaining why the Third World is increasingly being assigned that industry.<sup>3</sup>

What these economic miracles have produced are enormous riches for transnational corporations and a narrow stratum of the local population; extremely low wages for those lucky enough to be employed; massive unemployment on the part of peasants recently removed from the land who form an industrial reserve army, the presence of which makes sure that wages stay depressed; rampant inflation; stagnating agriculture; and a rapidly increasing foreign debt. Brazil's foreign public debt now stands at \$57 billion—60 percent of which is owed to a select few U.S. banks. This year Brazil plans to borrow another \$12 billion, of which fully three quarters will never leave the United States because it will go to repay interest and principal on previous borrowings.<sup>4</sup> This state of affairs prompted Brazilian President Figueiredo to comment ruefully not long ago that, at this rate, the country "has nothing left over for development."<sup>5</sup>

It was in struggling against this view of development that Walter Rodney spent most of his academic life. His political life was spent struggling against its effects. Broadly speaking, Rodney worked within the Marxian tradition—that of historical materialism. Politically, he considered himself a revolutionary socialist.<sup>6</sup> However, for Walter Rodney as for Frantz Fanon, whenever one was dealing with the colonial world, Marxist analysis had to be stretched a little. The symbiotic relationship of race and class had to be understood and then incorporated into one's theoretical framework. Thus, in Fanon's words, "The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich."<sup>7</sup>

I won't go at length into the analysis of African underdevelopment that Walter Rodney showed in his work. In short he argued that "underdevelopment" is not the natural state in which all societies find themselves at a given point in history. Thus England, prior to the industrial revolution or even prior to the rise of mercantile capitalism, was not underdeveloped, only to emerge from this condition as it industrialized over the last two centuries. It may have been *undeveloped* insofar as a comparison with the productive capacities of modern industrial society can be made. However, there was for Rodney a qualitative difference between being *undeveloped* and being *underdeveloped*. *Underdevelopment* was a condition brought about as Africa and the

rest of what is called the Third World were, with more or less speed and depending upon the circumstances, incorporated into the capitalist world-system over the last five centuries. This incorporation at first simply impinged upon, and finally completely distorted, the development dynamic internal to pre-European African society.

Rodney was well aware of what has been labeled the “merry Africa” syndrome that is common today among many Western liberals as well as among many Africans—particularly most of the rhetorically anti-imperialist petty-bourgeois leadership of the continent. In short, the “merry Africa” syndrome asserts that Africa was some sort of idyllic paradise, characterized by great, wealthy, and happy kingdoms, prior to that unfortunate time when it came into contact with capitalist, racist Europe. Rodney, although sometimes inconsistently, shows the class formation inherent in the dynamic of pre-European African development.

Imperialism and colonialism overpowered this internal dynamic and bent it to conform to external capitalist requirements. It was to this problem that the brilliant African revolutionary theorist Amílcar Cabral was addressing himself when he argued that the principal contradiction facing Guinea-Bissau and Africa was that of imperialism and colonialism. Once this contradiction was overcome, argued Cabral, Africa could return to its own history and the class struggles, both internally and externally generated, that arose from that history.<sup>8</sup>

Rodney can sometimes, I think, be justifiably accused of presenting the dependency argument a bit too simplistically; that is, his picture of the Third World as simply supplying agricultural products and raw materials to capitalist industry in North America and Western Europe, which then exports manufactured goods to be consumed by Third World markets. Clearly, as mentioned earlier, the nature of dependency has changed over time with a great deal of manufacturing infrastructure being developed in the periphery in the last three decades. One must also recognize that the world’s largest exporter of agricultural goods is precisely that country that is the most advanced of the capitalist states and sits right at the center of the world imperialist system—the United States of America.

Rodney can, however, be excused on two counts. First, while

he was clearly concerned with the underdeveloped countries as a whole, his specific area of research and the focal points of his political activity—Africa and the West Indies—were, both before and since 1960, characterized by precisely the kind of economic relationship with the world capitalist system that he described. Second, he explicitly stated in the preface to *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* that he was dealing with Africa only up to the end of the colonial period in 1960, and who can dispute the fact that until that time Africa was almost exclusively an exporter of agricultural products and raw materials? Rodney noted: “The phenomenon of neo-colonialism cries out for an extensive investigation in order to formulate the strategy and tactics of African emancipation and development.”<sup>9</sup>

In *The Groundings with My Brothers*, Rodney remarks, in discussing Black Power: “I could have chosen to talk to people of the same island, or the same religion, or the same class—but instead I have chosen skin color as essentially the most binding factor in our world. In doing so, I am not saying that is the way things ought to be. I am simply recognizing the real world—that is the way things are.”<sup>10</sup> As Rodney made clear throughout his writings, the ultimate question was one of class, but the relationship of black people to imperialism meant that race and class amounted to the same thing. As he noted: “So long as there are people who deny our humanity as blacks, then for so long must we proclaim and assert our humanity as blacks.”<sup>11</sup>

Walter Rodney's view of development included two broad ways of looking at the problematic, contrary to all bourgeois development specialists and even to some Marxists. On the one hand there was the clear imperative to advance the productive forces, or what bourgeois development theory attempts to measure in mechanical references to GNP growth. With this advance in the productive capacity of labor in any Third World social formation—that is, for Rodney, if it is properly structured and geared to the real material needs of the people and not to the consumption requirements of world capitalism—would come the availability of goods that would eliminate hunger and want. In short it would make people's lives more comfortable.

At the same time Rodney was concerned with what might be called the spiritual development of humankind—a Marxist

tradition often ignored even by some Marxists. Rodney was concerned with human freedom beyond, but necessarily based upon, a simple sufficiency or abundance of material goods. Thus Walter Rodney was concerned with ending people's alienation from themselves; from their sisters and brothers; and from the products of their labor. He was concerned with ending the reification of human relationships—the relationships of humans to each other and to the goods that they require for their existence.

It is this understanding of what development means that baffles the “conventional” economic wisdom. Milton Friedman's Chicago School mafia would banish this kind of thinking to the realm of the philosophical—having nothing to do with the real world in which real women and men must live. Using this understanding of the term “development,” the United States is the most underdeveloped country in the world.

In trying to make Marx more palatable to themselves, many liberal bourgeois thinkers have concentrated—erroneously, I think—on Marx the humanist to the exclusion of Marx the socialist revolutionary. They see falsely a sharp disjuncture between the so-called “early Marx” and the post-1848 Marx. Neither should this mistake be made in regard to Walter Rodney, who, to the last day of his life, was involved in trying to bring about socialist revolution in his native Guyana and, by extension, to the rest of the world. This was not in contradiction to his humanism—a humanism based on historical materialism—but because of it.

Walter Rodney was rare among academics. His scholarly work informed his revolutionary praxis, which in turn informed his intellectual endeavors. For Rodney historical research had an explicit revolutionary function:

[A]n overall view of ancient African civilizations and ancient African cultures is required to expunge the myths about the African past, which linger in the minds of black people everywhere. This is the main revolutionary function of African history in our hemisphere.<sup>12</sup>

And:

Firstly, the effort must be directed solely toward freeing and mobilizing black minds. There must be no performances to impress whites, for those whites who find themselves beside us in the firing

line will be there for reasons far more profound than their exposure to African history. Secondly, the acquired knowledge of African history must be seen as directly relevant but secondary to the concrete tactics and strategy which are necessary for our liberation. There must be no false distinctions between reflection and action, because the conquest of power is our immediate goal, and the African population at home and abroad is already in combat on a number of fronts.<sup>13</sup>

Had he wished he could have become safely ensconced in the rarefied atmosphere of a North American or European university, content to write an occasional book, a number of "brilliant" articles for arcane academic journals, and present "profound" papers at various scholarly meetings. In the process he would have become lionized as an "expert" on the Third World and radical nationalist revolution—a position from which he could be called upon, as time and events dictated, by the bourgeois media to give commentary on this or that revolutionary uprising in one or another exotic corner of the world. He chose not to and instead decided to help make revolution in one particular exotic corner.

Rodney has sometimes been criticized for not being scholarly enough. That is, his work had a clear political agenda and was not sufficiently dispassionate in its scholarly analysis. For some he didn't sound "academic" enough. His work *was* free of the esoteric jargon that characterizes much academic work, which is thus understandable only to a small group of professionally trained historians and social scientists. This was particularly true of his best known work, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

Rodney did not talk down to his readers. He simply wrote in a conventional language that could be understood by everyone—academics and political cadre alike. However, it was the latter he was most interested in reaching. His purpose in writing *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* was made explicit in the preface:

This book derives from a concern with the contemporary African situation. It delves into the past only because otherwise it would be impossible to understand how the present came into being and what the trends are for the future. Hopefully, the facts and interpretations that follow will make a small contribution towards reinforcing the conclusion that African development is possible only on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of the underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries.<sup>14</sup>

Several lines later, in thanking his colleagues for their help on the book, Rodney remarks, in what was characteristic of his entire world view: "I will not add that 'all mistakes and shortcomings are entirely my responsibility.' That is sheer bourgeois subjectivism. Responsibility in matters of these sorts is always collective, especially with regard to the remedying of shortcomings."<sup>15</sup>

It is for his unstinting emphasis on the need for collective action and responsibility that he should be remembered. Walter Rodney's exemplary life resides not only in his scholarly analyses of slavery and imperialism, but also in an active struggle for the liberation of oppressed and exploited peoples, in whose service his life has now been sacrificed.

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# **THE ROAD TO GDANSK: Poland and the USSR**

## **DANIEL SINGER**

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## KEYNES AS CRITIC OF CAPITALISM

BY PAUL M. SWEETZ

In the 1962 essay "Keynesian Economics—The First Quarter Century" (reprinted in *Modern Capitalism and Other Essays*, MR Press, 1972, pp. 79-91), I wrote:

Bourgeois economics, I fear, has irrevocably committed itself to what Marx called the "bad conscience and evil intent of apologetic." If I am right, Keynes may turn out to be its last great representative, and further scientific progress will have to come from the socialist camp (though not necessarily from the socialist countries).

Now, nearly two decades later, I think there can be no doubt that I was indeed right. Bourgeois economists have won a long string of Nobel prizes during this period—some, like Friedman and Hayek, for their ardor as apologists, others for more or less competent exercises in what I called in that earlier essay "how-to-do-it" work—but none of them has succeeded in throwing any light on why the global capitalist system has again entered into a period of crisis, this time (unlike the 1930s) characterized by both stagnation and inflation. During the same period bourgeois economists have produced a vast literature on economic "development," purportedly instructing the peripheral countries of world capitalism on how to become like their im-

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This is an introduction to a collection of essays by Paul M. Sweezy being published in India by Professor K. S. Charles under the title *Essays on Keynesian Economics and the Crisis of Capitalism*.

perialist overlords, with the gap between the two remaining as wide as ever and in many cases actually growing. Meanwhile, from the socialist camp, broadly conceived as above, has come an increasing stream of original and exciting work by social scientists (all of whom far transcend the narrow limits of bourgeois "economics") such as Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, Harry Braverman, Clive Thomas, Walter Rodney, and many, many others from developed and underdeveloped countries alike. The futility and degeneration of bourgeois social science have been matched by a veritable renaissance of radical thought which is working toward a unified theory of the world capitalist system, its developmental dynamics, and its increasingly shattering crises.

Trained in the orthodox tradition of bourgeois economics and transferring to the socialist camp in the crisis years of the early 1930s, I have been privileged not only to witness but also to participate in these momentous intellectual developments. The essays which Professor Charles has collected together in this little volume reflect that fact, and whatever merit they may have derives, I think, largely from it.

In closing this brief introduction, I would like to add a few remarks to the discussion of Keynes and Keynesian economics contained in the first three essays. It will be obvious to the reader that I admire Keynes and learned a great deal from his writings—in much the way, I like to think, that Marx admired and learned from Ricardo. Nevertheless, Keynes is treated as an authentic representative of the neoclassical school whose main achievement was to rescue it from some of its worst errors. If there had been a Nobel Prize in economics in the 1930s, one would be tempted to assume that Keynes would have been an obvious candidate to receive it. Perhaps it would have worked out that way, but one can imagine that a conservative member of the Nobel Prize selection committee might have strongly objected, and not without reason. For Keynes, unlike most of those who have actually received the award in recent years, was far from being an enthusiast, let alone an apologist, for capitalism and its achievements. Most telling in this regard is an article he wrote in 1933, at the bottom of the Great Depression ("National Self-Sufficiency," *Yale Review*, Summer 1933) which his

latter-day followers have for the most part forgotten or chosen to overlook. In this article, he wrote:

The decadent international but individualistic capitalism, in the hands of which we found ourselves after the [first world] war, is not a success. It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous—and it doesn't deliver the goods. In short, we dislike it, and we are beginning to despise it.

At the heart of Keynes' indictment of capitalism was a conviction, based on experience as well as analysis, that it breeds war. Alluding to the "economic internationalist's" faith in the peaceful consequences of unobstructed international trade and finance, Keynes argued:

But it does not now seem obvious that a great concentration of national efforts on the capture of foreign trade, that the penetration of a country's economic structure by the resources and the influence of foreign capitalists, and that a close dependence of our own economic life on the fluctuating economic policies of foreign countries are safeguards and assurances of international peace. It is easier, in the light of experience and foresight, to argue quite the contrary. The protection of a country's existing foreign interests, the capture of new markets, the progress of economic imperialism—these are a scarcely avoidable part of a scheme of things which aims at the maximum geographical diffusion of capital wherever its seat of ownership.

The logical conclusion of these ideas was that the attainment of a tolerable world order would require going beyond capitalism, and that this in turn would be possible only if individual countries were sufficiently free from the pressures of the world system to be able to experiment with new forms of socio-economic organization.

Now, nearly a half century later, we are again gripped by a world capitalist system in crisis, with no prospect of improvement anywhere visible. The need to transcend this system is at least as urgent as it was in 1933. The obstacles, however, are perhaps even more formidable than they were then: the massive multinationalization of capital and the vast improvement of the means of transport and communication in recent years have woven a veritable straitjacket around the countries which are caught in the system's toils. Keynes wrote in 1933: "We wish . . . to be our own masters, and to be as free as we can make

ourselves from the interferences of the outside world." What was then a wish has today become an imperative and will remain so until enough peoples and countries have broken out of this disaster-laden system and begun the task of constructing a new world in which cooperation for the common good is a genuine possibility.

Let that be Keynes' chief message to us today. And let me dedicate this little collection of essays to the younger generation of Indians who I believe are in a better position to act on the message than most of them yet recognize.

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# MARXISM

BY BERTELL OLLMAN

Marxism is a body of social, political, and economic thought derived from the writings of Karl Marx and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels. Various schools of Marxism have emerged since Marx's death in 1883; many of these remain influential today (see also **SOCIALISM** and **COMMUNISM**).

At the center of Marx's work is his analysis of capitalism: how it arose, how it works (for whom it works better and for whom worse), and where it is likely to lead. Concentrating on the social and economic relations in which people earn their livings, Marx saw behind capitalism's legal facade a struggle of two main classes: the capitalists, who own the productive resources, and the workers or proletariat, who must work for wages in order to survive.

The main theories that make up this analysis—the theory of alienation, the labor theory of value, and the materialist conception of history—must all be understood with this focus in mind. Even Marx's vision of socialism emerges from his study of capitalism, for socialism is the unrealized potential inherent in capitalism itself for a more rational and egalitarian social order in which people can develop more fully their distinctively human qualities.

Some socialist ideas can be traced as far back as the Bible, but Marxism has its main intellectual origins in German philoso-

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Bertell Ollman is professor of political science at New York University. This article is reprinted by permission from the *Academic American Encyclopedia* (Areté Publishing Co., Princeton, N.J.).

phy, English political economy, and French utopian socialism. It is from G. W. F. Hegel that Marx learned a way of thinking about the world, in all its fluid complexity, that is called "dialectics." Adam Smith's and David Ricardo's view that the values of commodities express the amount of labor time that goes into their production underlay Marx's own labor theory of value. From the French utopians, especially Charles Fourier and the comte de Saint-Simon, Marx caught a glimpse of a happier future that lay beyond capitalism. With the paradox of an Industrial Revolution that produced as much poverty as it did wealth, these were the main ingredients that went into the formation of Marxism.

### Marxist Theory

Marx's study of capitalism was grounded in a philosophy that was both dialectical and materialist. With dialectics, the changes and interactions that anything undergoes are brought into focus and emphasized, and special attention is devoted to whatever patterns emerge. This method enabled Marx, when examining a particular problem within capitalism, to keep in view both the broader interactions that made up the whole and the past and future development of present phenomena. In this way, capitalism as it unfolded as a system in history becomes the main object of his study. The uneasy tension between the historical forces promoting change and the systemic ones promoting equilibrium were captured in the idea of "contradiction," understood as a progressive pulling apart of what is functionally united.

Unlike Hegel's dialectic, which moved in a world of pure ideas, Marx's dialectic was materialist. Marx was primarily concerned with capitalism as lived rather than as thought about, but people's lives also involve consciousness. Marx's materialism puts ideas back into the heads of living people and treats both as parts of a world that is forever being remade through human activities, particularly in production. In this dialectical process, ideas also affect the social conditions and behavior that more generally shape them.

*Alienation.* Marx's theories about capitalism are best understood as answers to his pointed questions about its nature, ef-

fects, and development. How do the ways and conditions in which people earn their living affect their bodies, minds, and daily lives? In the theory of alienation Marx gives his answer. The people who do the work in capitalism own none of the means (machines and raw materials, for example) that they use in their work. These are owned by the capitalists, to whom workers must sell their "labor power," or ability to do work, in return for a wage. This system of labor displays four relations that lie at the core of Marx's theory of alienation. The worker is alienated from his or her productive activity, playing no part in deciding what to do or how to do it. The worker is alienated from the product of that activity, having no control over what is made or what becomes of it. The worker is alienated from other human beings, with competition and mutual indifference replacing most forms of cooperation. Finally, the worker is alienated from the distinctive potential inherent in the notion of *human being*.

The severing of these relationships leaves on one side a seriously diminished individual—physically weakened, mentally confused and mystified, isolated, and virtually powerless. On the other side of this separation are products and ties with other people, outside the control and lost to the understanding of the worker. In the marketplace the worker's products pass from one hand to another, changing names and form along the way—value, commodity, capital, profit, interest, rent, wage—eventually reentering the worker's daily life as the landlord's house, the grocer's food, the boss's factory, and the various laws and customs that prescribe relations with other people. The world that the worker has made and lost reappears in the misunderstood form of private property to serve as the necessary conditions for reproducing his or her own alienation.

*Theory of Value.* What is the effect of the worker's alienated labor on its products, both on what they do and on what can be done with them? Smith and Ricardo used the labor theory of value to explain broad price ratios. Marx took this explanation more or less for granted; his labor theory of value is primarily concerned with the more basic problem of why goods have prices at all. The slave owner takes by force what slaves produce. The feudal lord claims as a right some part of

what is produced by the serfs. Only in capitalism is the distribution of what is produced a function of markets and prices. Marx's explanation of this anomaly concentrates on the separation of the worker from his or her means of production and the sale of his or her labor power that this separation makes necessary. As a result of this separation, all the things that workers produce become available for exchange, indeed are produced with this exchange in mind. "Value" is the general social form taken by all the products of alienated labor (labor to which the four relations of alienated labor apply). Such products could only sell (have "exchange values") and serve (have "use values") in ways that express and contribute to this alienation.

Surplus value, the third aspect of value, is the difference between the amount of exchange and use value created by workers and the amount of value returned to them as wages. The capitalists' control over this surplus is the basis of their power over the workers and the rest of society. Marx's labor theory of value also provides a detailed account of the struggle between capitalists and workers over the size of the surplus value. Because of competition among capitalists, workers are constantly being replaced by machinery, enabling and requiring capitalists to extract ever greater amounts of surplus value from workers remaining.

Paradoxically, the amount of surplus value is also the source of capitalism's greatest weakness. Because only part of their product is returned to them as wages, the workers, as consumers, cannot buy a large portion of what they produce. Under pressure from the constant growth of the total product, the capitalists periodically fail to find new markets to take up the slack. This leads to crises of "overproduction," capitalism's classic contradiction, in which people are forced to live on too little because they have produced too much.

*Historical Tendencies.* How did capitalism originate, and where is it leading? In the materialist conception of history, Marx answered this question with an account of the transformation of feudalism (see MANORIALISM) into capitalism. He focused on the contradictions that arose through the growth of towns, population, technology, and trade, which at a certain point burst asunder the feudal social and political forms in

which production had been organized. Relations of lord to serf based on feudal rights and obligations had become a hindrance to the further development of these productive forces; they were replaced by the contractual relations of capitalists to workers. With capitalists free to pursue profits wherever they might take them and workers equally “free” to sell their labor power to capitalists however they might use it, the productive potential inherent in the new forces of production, especially technology and science, was freed. If profit maximization leads to rapid growth when rapid growth maximizes profits, however, profit maximization restricts growth when growth proves unprofitable. According to Marx, the periodic and worsening crises of overproduction that began about 1830 attest to capitalism’s growing inability to take full advantage of the potential for producing wealth that has grown up with it.

Within this framework the actual course of history is determined by class struggle. According to Marx, each class is defined chiefly by its relation to the productive process and has objective interests rooted in that relation. The capitalists’ interests lie in securing their power and expanding profits. Workers, on the other hand, have interests in higher wages, safer working conditions, shorter hours, job security, and—because it is required to realize other interests—a new distribution of power. The class struggle involves everything that these two major classes do to promote their incompatible interests at each other’s expense. In this battle, which rages throughout society, the capitalists are aided by their wealth, their control of the state, and their domination over other institutions—schools, media, churches—that guide and distort people’s thinking. On the workers’ side are their sheer numbers, their experience of cooperation—however alienated—while at work, trade unions, working-class political parties (where they exist), and the contradictions within capitalism that make present conditions increasingly irrational.

Marx believed that once most workers recognized their interests and became “class conscious,” the overthrow of capitalism would proceed as quickly and democratically as the nature of capitalist opposition allowed. The socialist society that would emerge out of the revolution would develop the full pro-

ductive potential inherited from capitalism through democratic planning on behalf of social needs. The final goal, toward which socialist society would constantly build, is the human one of abolishing alienation. Marx called the attainment of this goal communism.

### Marxism Today

From its beginnings, Marxism has been under strong attack by critics, often for claims that Marx himself never made. For example, some have viewed Marx's materialism as evidence that he ignored the role of ideas in history and in people's lives. Others have claimed wrongly that Marx's labor theory of value ignored the effect of competition on prices.

Many argue that with the advent of the welfare state and the relative prosperity of workers in much of the Western world, Marxism is no longer relevant. Marxists answer that the basic structures that set capitalism apart from other social forms—private ownership of industrial wealth and alienated wage labor—have changed very little in the past 100 years. Some, finally, point to the antidemocratic practices of many Communist countries and claim that authoritarianism is inherent in Marxist doctrine. Marxists respond that Marx concentrated on advanced industrial capitalism and never supposed that socialism could achieve its full promise in relatively poor nations.

Marxism, as defined here, has had its main influence among workers and intellectuals in the capitalist countries, especially in Europe, who have used it as a major tool in defining their problems and developing political strategies. In the Western countries even non-Marxist intellectuals, particularly sociologists and historians, have drawn considerable insights from Marx's writings. In the Third World, Marxism—considerably modified by a strong dose of voluntarism—has clarified the nature of the enemy for many liberation movements. In the Communist countries, selected doctrines of Marx have been frozen into abstract principles to serve as the official ideology of the regimes. The influence of these versions of Marxism is as different as their content.

## BIRTHDAY SONG

BY E. Y. HARBURG (1897-1981)

*Sung to the tune of "The Streets of Laredo"*

This song was originally written for MR's fifteenth anniversary. Yip Harburg revised and augmented it for the thirtieth anniversary. Next month will mark MR's thirty-second birthday.—Ed.

When I was a lad  
    I wrote amorous ditties,  
To Judy, Aleine, Edelina, and Sue,  
But now that I'm gray  
    I've abandoned those pretties,  
I'm singing my songs to the MONTHLY REVIEW.

For as you grow older  
    You sometimes grow wiser  
If brain cells are plenty  
    And hormones are few  
Why torture yourself with Elaine or Eliza  
You're safer by far with the MONTHLY REVIEW.  
    That most intellectual  
    Slightly subsexual  
    Marx will protect you all MONTHLY REVIEW.

For fifteen long years  
    I've perused and pursued her,  
I've waited whole months  
    For a sight of her, too  
Whatever her mood  
    I still wooed and renewed her  
That beautiful, sensible MONTHLY REVIEW.

## II

I followed her madly  
From Vietnam to China  
To Cuba, to Ghana, New Guinea, Peru,  
I may have been faithless  
To my Edelina,  
But not to that siren, the MONTHLY REVIEW.  
That wise and effectively  
Spoken objectively  
Let's love collectively MONTHLY REVIEW.

Her light is the light  
In the eyes of all lovers,  
Her voice is the sound  
Of a morning that's new  
I take her to bed  
And I find between covers  
The comforting lines of my MONTHLY REVIEW.

Her format is lovely,  
Her layout historic  
Her foresight and hindsight  
Are beautiful too,  
Forgive me for being  
So meta-euphoric  
I swoon for my beautiful MONTHLY REVIEW.  
That wholly reliable  
Vibrant and viable  
Tho F.B.I.-able MONTHLY REVIEW.

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So here's to the goal  
Of her bold aspirations,  
And may the great day  
Of her dream soon come true,  
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A few more donations  
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Oh bright be her journey,  
 Her long road made easy,  
 And strong be the hearts  
 Of her staff and her crew,  
 And blessed be her pilots  
 Brave Magdoff and Sweezy  
 And all the fine friends of the MONTHLY REVIEW.

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And let us remember the Sybils, the Hubys,  
 The Harrys and others who brighten this night,  
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## WHERE SURPLUS VALUE COMES FROM

BY ROBERT TRESSELL

This extract from the novel *Ragged Trousered Philanthropists* is an eloquent exposition in simple terms of the meaning of class struggle in the everyday lives of workers in England at the turn of the century. The novel was written in 1906, published posthumously in 1914, reissued in England in the fifties and more recently by Monthly Review Press. We thank Sylvia Orans, who suggested to us the publication of this excerpt.

—THE EDITORS

"You know, I've been thinking lately," observed Frankie, after a pause, "that it's a great mistake for Dad to go out working at all. I believe that's the very reason why we're so poor."

"Nearly everyone who works is more or less poor, dear, but if Dad didn't go out to work we'd be even poorer than we are now. We should have nothing to eat."

"But Dad says that the people who do nothing get lots of everything."

"Yes, and it's quite true that most of the people who never do any work get lots of everything, but where do they get it from? And how do they get it?"

"I'm sure I don't know," replied Frankie, shaking his head in a puzzled fashion.

"Supposing Dad didn't go to work, or that he had no work to go to, or that he was ill and not able to do any work, then we'd have no money to buy anything. How should we get on then?"

"I'm sure I don't know," repeated Frankie, looking round the room in a thoughtful manner. "The chairs that's left aren't good enough to sell, and we can't sell the beds, or your sofa, but you might pawn my velvet suit."

"But even if all the things were good enough to sell, the money we'd get for them wouldn't last very long, and what should we do then?"

"Well, I suppose we'd have to go without, that's all, the same as we did when Dad was in London."

"But how do the people who never do any work manage to get lots of money then?" added Frankie.

"Oh, there's lots of different ways. For instance, you remember when Dad was in London, and we had no food in the house, I had to sell the easy chair."

Frankie nodded. "Yes," he said, "I remember you wrote a note and I took it to the shop, and afterwards old Didlum came up here, and bought it, and then his cart came and a man took it away."

"And do you remember how much he gave us for it?"

"Five shillings," replied Frankie, promptly. He was well acquainted with the details of the transaction, having often heard his father and mother discuss it.

"And when we saw it in his shop window a little while afterwards, what price was marked on it?"

"Fifteen shillings."

"Well, that's one way of getting money without working."

Frankie played with his toys in silence for some minutes. At last he said:

"What other ways?"

"Some people who have some money already get more in this way: they find some people who have no money and say to them, 'Come and work for us.' Then the people who have the money pay the workers just enough wages to keep them alive whilst they are at work. Then, when the things that the working people have been making are finished, the workers are sent away, and as they still have no money, they are soon starving. In the meantime the people who had the money take all the things that the workers have made and sell them for a great deal more money than they gave to the workers for making them. That's another way of getting lots of money without doing any useful work."

"But is there no way to get rich without doing such things as that?"

"It's not possible for anyone to become rich without cheating other people."

"What about our schoolmaster then? He doesn't do any work."

"Don't you think it's useful and necessary and also very hard work teaching all those boys every day? I don't think I should like to have to do it."

"Yes, I suppose what he does *is* some use," said Frankie thoughtfully, "and it must be rather hard too, I should think. I've noticed he looks a bit worried sometimes, and sometimes he gets into a fine old wax when the boys don't pay proper attention."

The child again went over to the window, and pulling back the edge of the blind looked down the deserted rain-washed street.

"What about the vicar?" he remarked as he returned.

Although Frankie did not go to church or Sunday School, the day school that he had attended was that attached to the parish church, and the vicar was in the habit of looking in occasionally.

"Ah, he really is one of those who live without doing any necessary work, and of all the people who do nothing, the vicar is one of the very worst."

Frankie looked up at his mother with some surprise, not because he entertained any very high opinion of clergymen in general, for, having been an attentive listener to many conversations between his parents, he had of course assimilated their opinions as far as his infant understanding permitted, but because at the school the scholars were taught to regard the gentleman in question with the most profound reverence and respect.

"Why, Mum?" he asked.

"For this reason, dearie. You know that all the beautiful things which the people who do nothing have are made by the people who work, don't you?"

"Yes."

"And you know that those who work have to eat the very worst food, and wear the very worst clothes, and live in the very worst homes."

"Yes," said Frankie.

"And sometimes they have nothing to eat at all, and no clothes to wear except rags, and even no home to live in."

"Yes," repeated the child.

"Well, the vicar goes about telling the idlers that it's quite right for them to do nothing, and that God meant them to have nearly everything that is made by those who work. In fact, he tells them that God made the poor for the use of the rich. Then he goes to the workers and tells them that God meant them to work very hard and to give all the good things they make to those who do nothing, and that they should be very thankful to God and to the idlers for being allowed to have even the very worst food to eat and the rags, and broken boots to wear. He also tells them that they mustn't grumble, or be discontented because they're poor in this world, but that they must wait till they're dead, and then God will reward them by letting them go to a place called heaven."

Frankie laughed.

"And what about the idlers?" he asked.

"The vicar says that if they believe everything he tells them and give him some of the money they make out of the workers, then God will let them into heaven also."

"Well, that's not fair doos, is it, Mum?" said Frankie with some indignation.

"It wouldn't be if it were true, but then you see it's not true, it can't be true."

"Why can't it, Mum?"

"Oh, for many reasons: to begin with, the vicar doesn't believe it himself: he only pretends to. For instance, he pretends to believe the Bible, but if we read the Bible we find that Jesus said that God is our Father and that all the people in the world are His children, all brothers and sisters. But the vicar says that although Jesus said 'brothers and sisters' He really ought to have said 'masters and servants.' Again, Jesus said that His disciples should not think of tomorrow, or save up a lot of money for themselves, but they should be unselfish and help those who are in need. Jesus said that His disciples must not think about their own future needs at all, because God will pro-

vide for them if they only do as He commands. But the vicar says that is all nonsense.

"Jesus also said that if anyone tried to do His disciples harm, they must never resist, but forgive those who injured them and pray God to forgive them also. But the vicar says this is all nonsense too. He says that the world would never be able to go on if we did as Jesus taught. The vicar teaches that the way to deal with those that injure us is to have them put into prison, or—if they belong to some other country—to take guns and knives and murder them, and burn their houses. So you see the vicar doesn't really believe or do any of the things that Jesus said: he only pretends."

"But why does he pretend, and go about talking like that, Mum? What does he do it for?"

"Because he wishes to live without working himself, dear."

"And don't the people know that he's only pretending?"

"Some of them do. Most of the idlers know that what the vicar says is not true, but they pretend to believe it, and give him money for saying it, because they want him to go on telling it to the workers so that they will go on working and keep quiet and be afraid to think for themselves."

"And what about the workers? Do they believe it?"

"Most of them do, because when they were little children like you, their mothers taught them to believe, without thinking, whatever the vicar said, and that God made them for the use of the idlers. When they went to school, they were taught the same thing: and now that they're grown up they really believe it, and they go to work and give nearly everything they make to the idlers, and have next to nothing left for themselves and their children. That's the reason why the workers' children have very bad clothes to wear and sometimes no food to eat; and that's how it is that the idlers and their children have more clothes than they need and more food than they can eat. Some of them have so many clothes that they are not able to wear them and so much food that they are not able to eat it. They just waste it or throw it away."

"When I'm grown up into a man," said Frankie, with a flushed face, "I'm going to be one of the workers, and when we've made a lot of things, I shall stand up and tell the others

what to do. If any of the idlers come to take our things away, they'll get something they won't like."

In a state of suppressed excitement and scarcely conscious of what he was doing, the boy began gathering up the toys and throwing them violently one by one into the box.

"I'll teach 'em to come taking our things away," he exclaimed, relapsing momentarily into his street style of speaking.

"First of all we'll all stand quietly on one side. Then when the idlers come in and start touching our things, we'll go up to 'em and say, 'Ere, watcher doin' of? Just you put it down, will yer?' And if they don't put it down at once, it'll be the worse for 'em, I can tell you."

All the toys being collected, Frankie picked up the box and placed it noisily in its accustomed corner of the room.

"I should think the workers will be jolly glad when they see me coming to tell them what to do, shouldn't you, Mum?"

"I don't know, dear; you see so many people have tried to tell them, but they won't listen, they don't want to hear. They think it's quite right that they should work very hard all their lives, and quite right that most of the things they help to make should be taken away from them by the people who do nothing. The workers think that their children are not as good as the children of the idlers, and they teach their children that as soon as ever they are old enough they must be satisfied to work very hard and to have only very bad food and clothes and homes."

"Then I should think the workers ought to be jolly well ashamed of themselves, Mum, don't you?"

"Well, in one sense they ought, but you must remember that that's what they've always been taught themselves. First, their mothers and fathers told them so; then, their schoolteachers told them so; and then, when they went to church, the vicar and the Sunday School teacher told them the same thing. So you can't be surprised that they now really believe that God made them and their children to make things for the use of the people who do nothing."

"But you'd think their own sense would tell them! How can it be right for the people who do nothing to have the very best and most of everything that's made, and the very ones who

make everything to have hardly any. Why even I know better than that, and I'm only six and a half years old."

"But then you're different, dearie, you've been taught to think about it, and Dad and I have explained it to you, often."

"Yes, I know," replied Frankie confidently. "But even if you'd never taught me, I'm sure I should have tumbled to it all right by myself; I'm not such a juggins as you think I am."

"So you might, but you wouldn't if you'd been brought up in the same way as most of the workers. They've been taught that it's very wicked to use their own judgement, or to think. And their children are being taught so now. Do you remember what you told me the other day, when you came home from school, about the Scripture lesson?"

"About St. Thomas?"

"Yes. What did the teacher say St. Thomas was?"

"She said he was a bad example; and she said I was worse than him because I asked too many foolish questions. She always gets in a wax if I talk too much."

"Well, why did she call St. Thomas a bad example?"

"Because he wouldn't believe what he was told."

"Exactly: well, when you told Dad about it what did he say?"

"Dad told me that really St. Thomas was the only sensible man in the whole crowd of Apostles. That is," added Frankie, correcting himself, "if there ever was such a man at all."

"But did Dad say that there never was such a man?"

"No; he said *he* didn't believe there ever was, but he told me to just listen to what the teacher said about such things, and then to think about it in my own mind, and wait till I'm grown up and then I can use my own judgement."

"Well, now, that's what *you* were told, but all the other children's mothers and fathers tell them to believe, without thinking, whatever the teacher says. So it will be no wonder if those children are not able to think for themselves when they're grown up, will it?"

"Don't you think it will be any use, then, for me to tell them what to do to the idlers?" asked Frankie, dejectedly.

"Hark!" said his mother, holding up her finger.

"Dad!" cried Frankie, rushing to the door and flinging it

open. He ran along the passage and opened the staircase door before Owen reached the top of the last flight of stairs.

"Why ever do you come up at such a rate," reproachfully exclaimed Owen's wife as he came into the room exhausted from the climb upstairs and sank panting into the nearest chair.

"I al—ways—for—get," he replied, when he had in some degree recovered. As he lay back in the chair, his face haggard and of a ghastly whiteness, and with the water dripping from his saturated clothing, Owen presented a terrible appearance.

Frankie noticed with childish terror the extreme alarm with which his mother looked at his father.

"You're always doing it," he said with a whimper. "How many more times will Mother have to tell you about it before you take any notice?"

"It's all right, old chap," said Owen, drawing the child nearer to him and kissing the curly head. "Listen, and see if you can guess what I've got for you under my coat."

In the silence the purring of the kitten was distinctly audible.

"A kitten!" cried the boy, taking it out of its hiding-place. "All black, and I believe it's half a Persian. Just the very thing I wanted."

While Frankie amused himself playing with the kitten, which had been provided with another saucer of bread and milk, Owen went into the bedroom to put on the dry clothes, and then, those that he had taken off having been placed with his boots near the fire to dry, he explained as they were taking tea the reason of his late home-coming.

"I'm afraid he won't find it very easy to get another job," he remarked, referring to Linden. "Even in the summer nobody will be inclined to take him on. He's too old."

"It's a dreadful prospect for the two children," answered his wife.

"Yes," replied Owen bitterly. "It's the children who will suffer most. As for Linden and his wife, although of course one can't help feeling sorry for them, at the same time there's no getting away from the fact that they deserve to suffer. All their lives they've been working like brutes and living in poverty. Although they have done more than their fair share of the work,

they have never enjoyed anything like a fair share of the things they have helped to produce. And yet, all their lives they have supported and defended the system that robbed them, and have resisted and ridiculed every proposal to alter it. It's wrong to feel sorry for such people; they deserve to suffer."

After tea, as he watched his wife clearing away the tea things and rearranging the drying clothing by the fire, Owen for the first time noticed that she looked unusually ill.

"You don't look well to-night, Nora," he said, crossing over to her and putting his arm around her.

"I don't feel well," she replied, resting her head wearily against his shoulder. "I've been very bad all day and I had to lie down nearly all the afternoon. I don't know how I should have managed to get the tea ready if it had not been for Frankie."

"I set the table for you, didn't I, Mum?" said Frankie with pride; "and tidied up the room as well."

"Yes, darling, you helped me a lot," she answered, and Frankie went over to her and kissed her hand.

"Well, you'd better go to bed at once," said Owen. "I can put Frankie to bed presently and do whatever else is necessary."

"But there are so many things to attend to. I want to see that your clothes are properly dry and to put something ready for you to take in the morning before you go out, and then there's your breakfast to pack up——"

"I can manage all that."

"I didn't want to give way to it like this," the woman said, "because I know you must be tired out yourself, but I really do feel quite done up now."

"Oh, I'm all right," replied Owen, who was really so fatigued that he was scarcely able to stand. "I'll go and draw the blinds down and light the other lamp; so say good-night to Frankie and come at once."

# BOOKS

## AN EXCELLENT BOOK

By Annette T. Rubinstein

*The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict 1880-1917*, by Meredith Tax. Monthly Review Press, 1980; 332 pp., index. \$17.50.

This is an excellent book. Presented as a history of women's activities as shopworkers, socialists, and feminists in Chicago, New York, and (with one major example) Massachusetts from 1880 to 1917, it is exemplary on the informational level in its selection, verification, and organization of material. It is also so vividly written that I was as much absorbed by the retelling of the New York and Massachusetts stories, with which I was very familiar, as by the account of earlier events in Chicago which I had not known at all.

The brief biographical sketches of leading figures in the trade union, radical, and suffragist movements are memorable, but their warmth is never permitted to divert our interest from the struggles in which they were engaged or from the thousands of nameless sisters who fought at their side. The voluminous research which, the author tells us, took ten years to complete, is admirably submersed in the rapid narrative flow that presents its essentials in less than three hundred readable pages. If that were all, it would be enough to earn our gratitude.

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Annette Rubinstein, author of many articles and books, including *The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Shaw* (Monthly Review Press) is an editor of *Science and Society*, and teaches at the School for Marxist Education in New York City.

But there is very much more. Rarely have I seen the controversial question of a feminist-socialist approach as realistically, analytically, and goodhumoredly considered. The author refuses to accept conventional postulates, turning in each case to the specific record and theorizing only after she has checked the facts. She finds, for example, that more housewives than women in the labor force belonged to the Socialist Party and that many of the class struggles led by women, such as the Chicago bread riots, took place in years when there were no mass strikes and little labor militancy. Refusing to fall back on easy cultural-psychological explanations of women's "unorganizability," she examines concretely the different paths by which men and women in the nineteenth century reached the industrial work place.

Their path had led men from fighting the machines which displaced them, to fighting individual employers who oppressed them, to a realization that their enemy was the whole employer class with the entire state apparatus at its disposal. It was essentially this consciousness which informed the trade-union movement, already relatively mature and somewhat institutionalized by the time women entered industry en masse in the United States after the Civil War. The comparatively well established male workers' organizations ignored the low-paying sex-segregated jobs available to these newcomers, when they did not actively oppose the influx as threatening to lower overall wage standards. They made no attempt to organize women, and even those few women who took or might have taken the initiative of applying for membership were discouraged by disproportionately heavy union dues, meeting times which ruled out women with family responsibilities, and meeting rooms in saloons, pool parlors, or other places out of bounds for all respectable women, married or unmarried. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that "efforts to organize women came less from the mainstream of the labor movement than from a series of united front efforts by socialists and feminists."

Having established the historical record, Tax considers the varying effects of these "cross-class alliances" throughout the 35-year period and comes to specific conclusions which might prove helpful today for those concerned with other "united fronts" (of people, not of organizations) in ethnic as well as gender terms. Here, as elsewhere, her presentation of evidence is scrupulous; and while she does not avoid striking a balance, her concern is to learn from the past rather than to impute blame.

Besides the obvious topics demanded by her narrative, Mere-

dith Tax gives brief but telling pictures of the midwest farm and European immigrant family backgrounds that formed these late-nineteenth-century women workers in Chicago and New York. She describes the social atmosphere after the Haymarket Massacre, dealing with the then explosive issue of "free love" and with various women's attempts at communal living, including the development of Hull House and other less well known settlement houses. The intimate relation of women's organizations with the needs of children in terms of child labor, education, and institutional care is a recurrent theme, often presenting an unremarked contrast to the minimal attention these problems have received from many left organizations and feminist groups in our time.

Two of the book's last chapters deal in some detail with two famous strikes in which women played a major role. "The Up-rising of the Thirty Thousand" tells of the New York strike triggered in 1909 by a young shirtwaist maker and carried on for three months, against overwhelming odds, by a largely feminine work force. Ms. Tax tells us proudly that of those involved some 70 percent were Jewish women, 6 percent Italian women, and 3 percent American-born women, while only 20 percent were men. An important and generally unknown footnote to her story of this otherwise well known strike is provided by her account of the resolution passed by a black community church in Brooklyn urging that the union, if it succeeded in winning a closed shop, should admit "colored girls," and urging the "colored girls" not to scab but "to refrain from injuring other working women . . . and, wherever possible, to ally themselves with the cause of union labor."

The penultimate chapter of the book deals with another epic event, the IWW-led strike which erupted in Lawrence, Massachusetts, three years later. It was for its women participants that James Oppenheim wrote the classic "Bread and Roses." There housewives as well as women mill workers took an active part in every phase of the two-month-long struggle, forming a solid phalanx in the streets to oppose attacks by armed militia, running soup kitchens, organizing the temporary adoption of their children by workers' families in large cities and "manning" militant picket lines.

Both these strike chapters give illuminating accounts of the complex issues, necessary and unnecessary divisions, compromises and final results. These included not only a little more bread but also a greatly heightened class consciousness and a new inter-ethnic solidarity of Italian, German, Syrian, French, Polish, Portuguese, Lithuanian, Jewish, Irish, and American-born workers. For a time

it also included much inter-gender solidarity and an unusual degree of equality. But the national depression of 1913 and the even more severe local unemployment caused by runaway shops reduced the union, which had mobilized well over 20,000 workers, to some 700 including almost no women. As Meredith Tax says: "As far as we can tell, the women of Lawrence sank back into household obscurity, childbearing, and endless labor in the mills when the strike was over. They had been able to rise when their whole class rose. . . . But when their class went under in defeat, they were the most submerged, for their struggle for equality within the working-class movement could only succeed when the whole class was in motion."

The final chapter, headed "Practical Conclusions," considers, among other topics, "The Relationship Between Sex and Class," "The United Front of Women," "Workplace and Community Organization," and more generally women's participation in formal political organizations. Here there are brief comments on the women's movements of the 1970s and the impact on their causes of a wave of reaction which has largely destroyed affirmative action programs, public child care, abortion rights, and other hard-won gains.

No sweeping solution is offered, nor could there be. But in its context the conclusion that the socialist, labor, and women's liberation movements, which have now been separate for more than one lifetime, must be united if there is to be a real revolutionary movement is not simply a pious platitude. For the conclusion also says, truthfully:

We have seen how this separation occurred; it is harder to see how to reverse the process. Yet I believe it can ultimately be reversed if we pay attention to our own history. . . . Though we women did not create our own misery only we can end it—but we can't end it alone. Women need to be part of both a woman's liberation movement and a general movement to change society.

Finally perhaps a few words are in order on the unusual literary feeling of the book as a whole. Each of the ten chapters is introduced by an interesting quotation, often from a virtually unknown autobiography or poem, and the rich documentation in the body of the work makes generous use of similar source material. Of course many of the verses, hastily written by verbally unskilled activists, are conventional in form, imagery, and vocabulary, but they are selected with real discrimination and almost all are redeemed by at least a few lines which suggest more than they

say. For example, Mary O'Reilly's "After the Strike," a surprisingly sober evaluation of minuscule practical gains, says:

We measure our gain  
By the price we have paid.  
Call the victory great  
As the struggle we made;  
For we struggled to grow,  
And we won. And we know.

Again Charlotte Perkins Gilman begins her anthem for the Women's Trade Union League with a few lines that give an unexpectedly moving resonance to the expected refrain, "Union is Power":

Long have we lived apart,  
Women alone;  
Each with an empty heart,  
Women alone;  
Now we begin to see  
How to live brave and free,  
No more on earth shall be  
Women alone.

Meredith Tax herself writes well, skillfully using brief passages from letters, eyewitness accounts, and other primary sources to give the feeling of a movement, while avoiding the jargonized or slipshod repetitive vocabulary that disfigures so much sociology, economics, and history. No matter how familiar or unfamiliar the subject matter is to you, you'll enjoy reading this book and learn a great deal from it.

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As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead  
Go crying through our singing their ancient cry for bread.  
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew.  
Yes, it is bread we fight for—but we fight for roses, too!

—James Oppenheim, 1912

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(Continued from inside front cover)

Yip's "Birthday Song" which he composed for and sang at MR's fifteenth birthday, and sang again with two additional verses at MR's thirtieth birthday in May 1979.

An error crept into the December Review of the Month ("Are Low Savings Ruining the U.S. Economy?"). In the last sentence of the footnote on p. 4, "the last column of Table 5" should read "the last column (5) of Table 1." While we're on this subject, it is worth noting that in the December issue of the *Survey of Current Business*, which appeared shortly after the MR piece, the Department of Commerce announced a significant revision of its national product series. According to the new figures, personal savings were over 14 percent higher than previous estimates. For what it is worth, this of course provides additional support for our contention that low savings are *not* what is ruining the U.S. economy.

There are around the country a significant number of left-wing bookstores which together constitute an important outlet for MR and MR Press books. Among these is Redbook, 136 River St., Cambridge, MA 02139 (617-491-6930) which has been in existence for ten years and is expanding its services. The following excerpts from a letter recently received from the members of the collective that runs the store will interest MR readers: "Enclosed is the last couple of issues of our monthly newsletter. . . . We invite people to order by mail the titles mentioned in each newsletter and refer them to Modern Times [a bookstore in San Francisco] if they want a more substantial list. Right now we are trying to build up a bigger nationwide mailing list for the newsletter, so we thought we'd ask you to mention it in MR. If folks drop us a line, including their address, we will send them three free issues and then ask for a \$3-a-year sub, half of which is deducted from the first mail-order purchase. . . . Finally, we read the news of your continuing financial problems with a lot of anxiety. Clearly, your financial problems are also problems for any bookstore that relies on MR publications as much as we do, and they are also problems for socialists everywhere. . . . Recently we set up a shelf called 'New from Monthly Review' in our Political Economy section, and it's amazing how much of a difference it makes."

Announcements of interest to MR readers:

(1) A conference on "New Perspectives on the Urban Political Economy" will be held on May 22, 23, 24, at The American University, Washington, DC 20016. The conference is sponsored by the Economics Department of American and is being organized by Larry Sawers of that department and Bill Tabb of Queens College-CUNY. For further information, write Larry Sawers at the above address.

(2) *The Insurgent Sociologist* is planning four special issues over the next two years. The first, on Radical Criminology, was supposed to be substantially completed by the end of 1980. The others, on The Labor Process, The Socialist Transition, and Sex and Class, are still in the process of formation. Manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to The Insurgent Sociologist, Dep't of Sociology, Univ. of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403.

(3) Economists and other social scientists in French-speaking Canada have formed the Association d'économie politique, the aims of which are similar to those of the Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE) in the United States and the Conference of Socialist Economists (CSE) in Britain. Membership applications and correspondence should be addressed to: Association d'économie politique, C.P. 8888, Succursale "A", Montreal H3C 3PB, Canada.

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